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transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note-
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed. [836] [45] [881] [197] [871]

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some
contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty.
Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more fre-
quent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most
of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated
behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion.
Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house. [839]

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for
[836] [548] [648] [648]

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clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the development of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usually while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the loss of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30.

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially accomplished before the first intercourse as a result of the strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may feel.

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their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence.

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, clothing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted.

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls.

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau -- (fat!), with an accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act.

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European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i. e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture to get aboard. . . . Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states "...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurements." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun